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at the missions. Familiarity with the work-exchange idea prepared Papagos for the system of barter prevalent in the rural areas on the frontiers of New Spain. At least by the time New Spain won its independence and called itself Mexico the Desert People had begun to work and trade for money. But their homeland economy was still on a barter basis, and did not go onto a cash basis until after many years of control by Anglo-Americans.

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Anglos established the first stores the Desert People had seen, and brought a much wider selection of foods and goods to be purchased with cash. Anglos were in the habit of paying for labor in cash rather than kind. As the Indians began to want the new foods and goods their own economy collapsed. Always the Desert People had survived on a very narrow margin in their resource-poor environment. But they always got by. Now as they acquired tastes for new foods and desires for new goods, their resources could not supply the surplus needed to purchase them. The Papagos had to convert their only unexploited resource--their own labor--into the cash they needed to buy new necessities. Their economy changed from a food-gathering-agricultural-hunting-work exchange subsistence economy to a wage labor-agricultural cash economy.

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The role Papago women have played in these changes cannot be overemphasized. They found it far easier to prepare and cook foods from trading posts than to gather the desert foods, prepare and cook them. Half the food eaten on the reserves now is purchased.[1] Many articles of Anglo technology--irons, sewing machines, flour, etc. --made women's work easier, and Papago women adopted them. This has meant Papago men and frequently women too had to work for cash to pay for purchased foods and sewing machines and cloth and durable goods.

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This need for cash is recognized by the realistic Desert People and moves them to hire out for wage labor. They have wants which they feel strongly. They realize their wants can be satisfied only with cash, and they have found cash can be acquired in most cases only by marketing their labor, since it is the major Papago resource. Their other resources simply cannot produce the cash necessary to satisfy their wants.

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[1] Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 87.

800 specifically responsible for placing farm workers, and some Papagos already take advantage of its services. If necessary, the ASES might hire, or share with the Papago Council the salary of (as does the Arizona Livestock Sanitary Board in the case of a Livestock Inspector) a Papago to contact the Desert People on the reserves and channel them through the ASES offices in cotton growing areas.

Whether placement and policing were carried out by a Papago Labor Service independently, or through the ASES, this writer is quite sure that formalizing the employment of Papago farm laborers would kick back. Probably somewhat fewer of the Desert People could be placed satisfactorily by a Labor Service than find jobs for themselves.

[181] [156] [858] There are a number of reasons for this prediction. One is the individualism of the Desert People. They prefer to make their own choices without interferance from outside authority--which a labor service would be. Papagos are trained from babyhood to decide for themselves. "Even little children may be consulted in things which concern them directly, and a child's decision as to whether he wishes to go to school or to the hospital is seldom questioned."[1] In this type of society, a formal labor service would likely be ignored by most people. However, the Desert People at the same time have a great admiration for Anglo techniques, and a willingness to experiment with same--so they might try out a Labor Service. But it would have to prove immediately beneficial to them to attract repeaters.

46 This it might not do, because of the nature of the preference Anglo farmers express for Papago employees. One Marana cotton grower likes Papago pickers because they are "less quarrelsome" than other harvest hands. Another prefers them because they are "not trying to mess up. They are not crooked," meaning they don't weight their sacks with rocks and clods. A Pinal county grower hires Papagos because they "give no trouble."

That this ability of the Desert People to get along well with their employers is a prime factor in the preference shown for them is indicated by the fact that most of their employers think them slow pickers. Three-fourths

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[1] Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky, 1949, p. 88.

46 of the employers who discussed Papago picking capabilities with the writer believed the Desert People picked slower than other harvest hands. But just as many of them also believed Papagos picked cleaner cotton,[1] which makes them sought after cotton pickers. Clean picking and ability [273] to get along well with employers also outweigh the serious handicap of drunkenness among the Desert People. Employer's experiences with drinking Indians naturally varies. But almost all reported their Indian crews were far below full strength on Monday. A Marana farmer said, [512] "If they'd quit drinking they'd be the best. But 99% of them do drink. They are never any good on Monday, pick up on Tuesday, and are working good on Wednesday." Another remarked that Papagos start to drink Thursday night. These are extreme examples--some cotton farmers luckily hired only families which didn't drink--but a Monday lay-off from picking is general. And growers who have employed Papagos for many years are quite accustomed to bailing their Indians out of jail for $10, or coddling men like J. who "works one week here and one in [578] the city 'hotel'." The faculty of the Desert People for not arguing or causing trouble must count very strongly with cotton farmers for them to put up with other failings of Papago harvest laborers. Whether their pro-Papago attitude would survive creation of a Papago Labor Service is extremely doubtful. For the type of cotton grower common in southern Arizona would tend to interpret a Labor Service as just the kind of trouble he tries to avoid in hiring the Desert People. The social welfare activities of a Labor Service as suggested by Dr. Thompson are exactly the sort of trouble cotton growers would avoid by not hiring the Desert People.

464 462 Whether a Papago Labor Service tried to place workers or the Desert People were placed through the Arizona State Employment Service, cotton growers would look askance. They prefer pickers who deal directly with them over pickers sent out from the ASES for the simple reason they are usually better pickers. Migrants who come directly to the farms are experienced in picking cotton--whether they are Anglos or Indians, Negros or Mexican-Americans. Farmers can depend on them to pitch right in and pick their weight. Pickers sent out from ASES offices are not always so dependable. Field offices in Pinal county help many experienced migrants find places, along with inexperienced beginners. But in Pima county a high

[1] Based on 15 interviews in Pima, 11 in Pinal county.

000 the picking machine a clear field.[1] In Arizona this treatment has not proved very practicable because of the very dry atmosphere--spray doesn't adhere to leaves well enough to defoliate plants successfully. Although progress is being made,[2] it may never be feasible to harvest all southern Arizona's crop mechanically. And there will always be some small farmers who cannot afford to invest in a mechanical harvester who will hire hand pickers. For some time there will be conservative growers who cling to their belief hand picked cotton grades better than machine-picked, and that Indian-picked fiber grades best of all.

As mechanization becomes more nearly complete in southern Arizona, growers probably will become more cautious in buying picking machines so as not to over-invest in equipment. For these various reasons, it can be predicted that there will be a permanent though much reduced place for hands in cotton harvesting. This place likely will be filled by pickers of 2 sorts. One group will be permanent farm laborers living on cotton farms. Experienced Papagos already occupy a preferred position in this group of farm laborers. The other group most likely will be mobile cotton pickers hauled to the field from towns daily, a much more efficient operation than building labor camps on farms. While there will probably develop intense competition for these jobs, at least for a while, cotton growers may be expected to show a preference for Indian pickers. For in a highly competitive labor market, they will tend to hire pickers who harvest the cleanest, highest-grading cotton: Indians. Among cotton growers who have hired Papago harvesters, there is almost unanimity on the clean fiber Indians dump into trailers. "The Indian is slower, but picks cleaner--his cotton is beautiful!" "They are very, very good, and do a nice job." "They pick a lot cleaner." "I'll bet the trash in that trailer I sent in today won't run one half of one per cent, and it grades better." These are typical comments on the picking job the Desert People perform.

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In a dusty field in the Stanfield area, a weighman told the writer, "What they lack picking as much weight, they make up by cleaning the row; and they put clean cotton in the trailer." This characteristic patience in the cotton fields is a strong point in favor of the

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[1] Raper, 1946, p. 15.
[2] Arizona Farmer, Sept. 16 and Nov. 25, 1950.

● 46 Desert People with growers. "Indians pick a field clean; they don't leave cotton." "Papagos don't grumble when they come to bad cotton." In 1950 cotton growers wanted every ounce of fiber they'd grown harvested to cash in on skyrocketing prices, so were glad to hire pickers willing to clean up poor stands. Understandably in the future this same quality of picking clean cotton and cleaning rows will endear the Desert People to growers. They will want the highest grading fiber they can get during first picking when green leaves are still on the plants and machines are inefficient.

Cotton planters who know the capabilities of the Desert People will generally continue to hire them to do what picking remains for hands after optimum mechanization is reached. At least two-thirds of the cotton growers who employed Papago harvest hands in 1950 would prefer all-Indian picking crews over crews of any other ethnic group.[1] The length of time they had hired Papagos testifies as to their reliance on the Desert People as farm labor. In Pima county a couple of growers hired Papagos for the first time in 1950, one had employed them 15 years. The average time Papago employers had hired them was 6½ years.[2] In Pinal county one small farmer had hired Papagos for 20 years, others were using them for the first time in 1950. The average time farmers hiring Papago harvesters had employed them was 5 years.[3]

080 While these figures reflect to a large extent merely the length of time farmers have been raising crops, they do show cotton growers continue to hire Indians once they have begun. There is no reason to suppose they will suddenly cease to do so as mechanization progresses. But they will have less and less need for Papago farm laborers--especially pickers--as mechanization increases. Mechanical cotton pickers and other machines will crowd unskilled Papago farm workers right out of the fields.

It is this threat to farm employment of the Desert People outside their reserves posed by mechanization that points to the most profitable function for the Papago Labor Service suggested by Dr. Laura Thompson.

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[1] Based on 18 interviews in Pima county and 4 in Pinal. 11 of the 18 expressed a preference for Papagos.
[2] 11 farmers had hired Papagos 71 years, averaging 6.45.
[3] 11 farmers had hired Papagos 55 years.

3: Whitad G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NU29
Pima NU29

Pa 658 797

There is what is termed a "contract school" located at Tucson, which many of the Papago children attend. The school is established and supported in part by a missionary department of the Presbyterian church. The buildings are large, airy, well planned, and adapted to the purpose required. The pupils seem well disciplined and clean. The government pays a stated sum annually to the school for each pupil in attendance as reimbursement for board and clothing furnished. The school owns 5 or 6 good buildings, all in good condition and well furnished, also a farm of 43 acres. On account of lack of water but few garden vegetables are grown, but barley and wheat yield abundantly.

Some of the scholars are taught carpentering, painting, and plastering, and their work is quite satisfactory.

PAPAGOS LIVING OFF THE RESERVATION.

Pa 131 197

These Papago Indians live in the southern part of Pima county, along the southern border of the territory of Arizona. Their language is similar to that spoken by the Pimas. They roam over a country about 100 miles in width north and south and about 125 miles east and west, and there are a few small villages over the Mexican border but near the boundary line.

Pa 13 231

The country in which they live consists of broad, open plains, divided by mountain ranges. The valleys or plains are arid, having no natural springs or running streams of water; yet after the summer rains these plains are covered with grass of a fine quality, and owing to the dryness of the air this grass is cured or dried on the ground and furnishes good, rich food for cattle during the remainder of the year.

Pa 361 312 342 [231]

The Indians select their dwelling places at the foot of the mountains near the mouth of the various canyons that open out into the plains. Small springs often flow through these canyons and sink into the sand. The Indians utilize these springs or sink wells into the sand, and thus secure the underflow from the springs. Their cattle feed out into the plains and return to these wells or springs to drink. Near these watering places, usually on an elevation, the Indians build their houses in their permanent villages of adobe, about 12 by 16 feet in area and about 8 feet in height. Small poles are laid on top and crosswise of the building, and on these are laid brush, with weeds or grass on the brush, the whole covered with about 6 inches of clay, which is impervious to water. The floor is of clay, and there is one doorway, but no windows. The doorway is sometimes closed with a dried beef hide. As a rule, they live on the outside of the house. The house contains no furniture except a little bedding and some cooking utensils.

Pa [352]

Pa 262 439 291

Their food consists of beef, dried wild fruit, dried mesquite beans made into a kind of bread, and wild game. During the summer rains they raise some vegetables, which they dry for winter use. They also sell or trade cattle to settlers in the Gila and Santa Cruz valleys for wheat and corn, which the women grind in their crude way into meal and flour. They have adopted the civilized mode of dress, and are gradually learning the use of soap.

The women of the tribe are virtuous and industrious, being in these traits far in advance of any other tribe in the territory.

Pa 161 648 Pa 46

There are 4,800 of this tribe living off the Papago reservation. With rare exceptions they are self-sustaining, have always been good citizens, and on many occasions have joined with the whites to assist in suppressing murderous Apaches. The principal occupation of the men is raising cattle and horses, and a little farming when they can find a piece of damp ground that will raise corn and vegetables, hunting, chopping wood around mining camps, and ordinary labor wherever they can find it. If there is any mixed blood in the tribe it is not perceptible.

There are several mining camps scattered throughout the country which these Indians inhabit, and in some of the large valleys wealthy men or companies have sunk wells 500 or 1,000 feet deep and established cattle ranches or ranges, and many Indians are employed about these camps and mines.

Pa 133 487 224

The country is somewhat difficult of access, as there are several mountain ranges running through it. The roads follow the valleys, and sometimes it is "a long way around where it is only a short way across". These mountain ranges abound in game, which the Indians hunt.

Pa 273 231

A month's travel in these Papago villages failed to reveal a single case of drunkenness, although there are frequent instances of drunkenness among Indians in the streets of Tucson. They have great numbers of horses and cattle, but it is impossible to form a correct estimate as to numbers. The horses are small and inferior, but the cattle are fully up to the average in size and quality.

Pa 648 771 197

These Indians as a tribe have always been exceptionally friendly to the white people. They have never received aid from the government. The little religion they have is a conglomerate of Roman catholicism, superstition, and Indian boodooism. The Roman Catholic church established missions among them more than 150 years ago.

THE RESERVATION AND NONRESERVATION PAPAGO INDIANS, PIMA AGENCY.

Report of Special Agent C. W. Wood on the reservation and nonreservation Papagos of Pima and Cochise counties.

Pa 101 Pi [101] Pa [797]

TRIBAL NAME.—The Papagos and Pimas were formerly one tribe. Authorities differ as to the derivation and meaning of the name. One view is that Papago means "hair cut", another that it means "baptized". Neither of these meanings has any etymological basis or value. The most reasonable derivation of the term seems to be the following, derived from conversation with the oldest Indians: the division of the Pimas occurred from the labors